/157 cont./

593 888 /footnote 27 cont./ offering of help and means; it is a cold and sterile egoism." "The old parents are left abandoned when they do not move from the house of one child to that of another, in order not to be a burden." "Nor can the natural love of the procreators be said to have a firm foundation, because of the cynicism with which they bury alive the newborn babies, suffocating them as one would do with any little animal" (in the book Os Tucanos /The Tucano/ by Pe. Antônio Giacone, p. 13).

593 581 Apropos of matrimony, Pe. Antônio Giacone writes: -- The Indian, not having love and tenderness for the woman, will be satisfied with the one that they give him, no matter whether she is pretty or ugly; it is enough if she is hard-working and gives him many children; if she is sterile, he will repudiate her as a useless thing, because every Indian marries for the sake of having many children" (Os Tucanos, p. 22). He censures the treatment of the old parents on the part of the children as "indifferent and inhuman" (ibidem, p. 26).

593 758 In November of 1953, on the occasion of our stay in Iauareté, the following episode took place. A young man from Uaracú-ponta (river Uaupés), married a few months earlier, gravely ill with tuberculosis, asked the Director to take him to the Mission hospital. There he had a visit by his wife, who remained in his company for some days. On a second visit, she burst into tears so noisily that the Director advised her that she should restrain herself or move farther away, in order not to add to the suffering of her sick husband. Nevertheless, two days before her husband's death, she wanted to leave for her povoado, taking with her the husband's hammock. And she did so, in spite of his insistent begging that she stay longer and leave his hammock.

/164 cont./

152 /footnote 42 cont./ great pain without a tear or a groan. On the other hand, when under the care of the civilized, for example, when hospitalized, they readily burst out in shrieks and groans that even seem exaggerated. We are prevented from presenting an explanation for similar facts, although we have in vain asked for one from the natives themselves on several occasions.

• 758 761 [755] [797] During illnesses, he will lie in the hammock and wait for nature to react to the prompting of the rites of the pajé. If the latter says that the sick man is going to die, he will await death calmly, without cries or shrieks. The relatives will not give him medicine, and many times not even food or drink (43).

758 797 43. And have you given mingau /a paste made with manioc flour/ to the sick man -- asked the Missionary to those of a maloca where he had found a very sick old man lying in a hammock. -- "What for?" objected the Indians, "he is going to die anyway." In May of 1954, a young wife gravely ill and given up by the pajé, Adelia Abreu by name, of the Tukano tribe, was found in Pari-cachoeira. She did not accept the medicines or threw them away, pretending to take them. She generally refused food. If by chance she showed any disposition to accept it, her mother whispered that she should not take it, because the pajé had said that she was going to die. With some difficulty they transported her to the hospital. The Irmã Enfermeira /Sister in charge of the sick/ managed to overcome the young woman's resistance, and the latter decided to take the medicines and the food, and a hopeful improvement was

/164 cont./

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/footnote 43 cont./ noticed immediately. The sick woman's mother, upon learning this, ran to the hospital, in order to stop it. To anyone who argued with her because she acted so, the mother answered: -- "The pajé said that she is to die; if she gets well in the hospital, the pajé is going to be furious with me." It is true that as soon as the woman felt better she ran away from the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ hospital. From the delivery, which soon followed, she had a very weak child that died almost immediately. The young mother, however, became strong and is still enjoying good health (in September of 1956).

152 The /165/ patient will not ask for it or will even refuse to take it if someone presents it to him. His life has been full of fight[illegible] and deprivations endured with the most inalterable calm, he [illegible] never defeated by despair, he always appears strong, even b[illegible] the imminence of death (cf. VII - 2, e (1)).

24) Formality.

The Uaupésino native is a singularly formal type. It is precisely this rigorous formality, touching almost every activity of the individual, that crushes the individual, the personal in the Indian. About these, as about the Mongols, those who do not have very prolonged and immediate contact with them say that they all look alike, because it is difficult to distinguish them by physiognomic features. In reality, they are more alike in behavior than in the face. The Indians seem to us to have been made in series, if we consider them in their way of acting. Education, which subministers to them the congenital tendency to imitate, and the subjection to the customs and traditions are so absorptive that it almost makes the individualizing traits in them disappear. And this uniformity is still more impressive because it culturally

/368 cont./

621 of the soul, a social cult of the dead would be foreseen. Manifestations of this cult are the elegy-weeping, the interment, the banquet and funeral feast.

• 758 1) The elegy-weeping. The coldness and insensitivity (82)

> 82. Sometimes, it seems to us, even cruelty, denying them even food and drink (cf. V-17).

with which these natives of the Uaupés see any member of the family waste away, even if it is their own father, mother, or child, is striking. The sick one is found in a hammock hung in a darker corner, and a few meters away the occupants of the maloca or house /369/ laugh, talk, eat, amuse themselves, as if no sick person was there (83).

[797]

> 83. We have already noted that, to the question by the Missionary as to whether anyone is sick (see V-16) in the maloca or povoado, they systematically answer no. Perhaps the silence or the denial has its cause in a belief or some magic concept unknown to us. And from this same concept might be derived the insensitivity, perhaps only apparent, which gives rise to our opinion. To the Padre who scolded a native who left his old father without food, he responded: -- "Why should I give him food? He is going to die!"
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> Pe. João Marchesi writes (ap. "Os Tucanos /The Tucano/," by Pe. Antônio Giacone, p. 13): "In the same house, sometimes a relative is in agony, but nevertheless they will not take the least care to spare him

/369 cont./

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/footnote 83 cont./ the commotion of an infernal orgy of two days. In front of their own dead brother they will burst out in a desperate cry, and with the same aptness they will pass to the noisiest and most indecent laughter."

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*[192]

Nevertheless, as soon as they notice that he has died -- (perhaps the catastrophe already happened some time ago, and they did not notice it; or there has been a mistake, he has not died yet) -- the men and women present start the elegy-weeping, uxtisé (84).

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84. Pe. Humberto Limpens, Montfortian, in the early days of the Mission of Teresita (Colombia, river Papurí), saw a "weeping," in which primarily the pajés blew smoke for a long time over the dead woman, who was married, while the men shouted threats against the enemies who were the cause of the death. Afterwards the women came, and, placing themselves in a semicircle, began the lamentations.

[797]

The weeping that took place on June 24, 1956, in the hospital of the Mission of Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié) and which two Sisters in charge of nursing witnessed was also interesting. A young wife had died as the result of a stillbirth. She was the stepdaughter of the late tuxáua of Pari-cachoeira, Júlio, father of the present local chief. There had been previous treatment with the pajés; and even after she was already in a condition of extreme gravity and she had been taken to the hospital, her mother, of the Tuyuka tribe, had tried to take

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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CUBEO

264 574 123 passing by downstream, had paused among the *Bahúkiwa* to pay a courtesy call. The woman was hungry and drew some provisions to eat. She then noticed that I was looking at her as she ate, so she turned her back. Puzzled by this, I asked the *Bahúkiwa* headman what it meant. He said, "That is the way some people are." When the woman heard me ask, she reached in among her things and fetched out a mat which she set around her like a screen. From behind the screen she completed her meal.

261 • 788 The Cubeo seem to regard food as markedly secular, and this may explain why the sick who are supernaturally afflicted must avoid all foods except for some manioc cake.

261 571 866 [857] The play of young boys often involves food. The young male pack fishes for minnows, traps small game, and forages in the nearby forest for ants, grubs, and fruits. They share all food equally, except that a boy aspiring to be a leader takes a smaller share for himself. This attitude of leadership has its counterpart among adult males. Within the maloca a leader – not necessarily the headman – makes a point of sharing the food he has with the sib even if it is no more than a small fish. Those who are not leaders and who do not aspire to leadership consume small catches of game and fish in the household, reasoning that they have only enough for one family.

261 183 571 431 In view of the symbolic significance of food, its involvement in leadership and in social intimacies, it is not surprising that a good part of social and individual pathology should involve disturbances of conventional patterns of sharing. Two kinds of disturbance came to my notice; one, the more common, a pathological nonsharing, and the other a pathological stealing of food. Nonsharing appears early in the male play pack and continues, I suspect, into adult life. Food disorders affect males far more because only they are expected to uphold the amenities of food sharing. Like their mothers, girls are attached only to a household, forming no play pack. If they forage for foodstuffs it is in company with their mothers and for the use of the household or the sib. Some boys in a play pack take the share of food that has been given them and hide behind a tree, crouch behind a bush, or turn their backs while eating. They are even stealthy in eating food that they have obtained by their own efforts. A boy [123] once came to my hut and asked for food. I gave him a banana. He crawled under a table, turned his back to me, and gulped it, while his companions were outside the door waiting for him to come out. I am certain they knew what he was doing, but even the youngest Cubeo boy has learned the courtesy of ignoring poor manners in

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUEO

The Cubeo have no dread of menstruation and menstrual taboos are relatively minor. A man will not copulate with a menstruating woman because he believes it will make him lazy. On the other hand, if there is a sick person in the house a menstruant will move and live in a shelter nearby, or else the ill person cannot recover. For her part the menstruant must avoid the river, or she will be killed by the water anaconda. She may not enter a canoe for fear that the headman of the fish will destroy the canoe.

Menstrual blood (*hivé*) is not human blood, but is believed to be blood of the moon. The moon, according to the Cubeo, is an ardent hunter who comes down to earth to copulate with unmarried girls and with women who are not pregnant. No one conceives by the moon. The moon is said to deflorate the woman, causing her to bleed. The hymen, according to this belief, grows back and the moon repeats his sexual connection each month. When a woman has erotic dreams she knows that the moon will come to her.

SEX LIFE

Under Cubeo rules of phratric exogamy the young people of a community may reach the age of marriage without having had sexual relations with an eligible marriage partner. The young people are limited to clandestine incestuous affairs and to public homosexual play. It was difficult to get information on the sex life of the unmarried, although I was aware of affairs between sib brother and sister. One informant told me that it was not improper for brother and sister to indulge in external coitus. According to this man, it was intromission that constituted incest. True coitus between sib brother and sister is not regarded lightly. Offenders may be put to death, and their souls after death, it is said, will be animals that will not associate with people. I never witnessed any gesture of sexual intimacy between a grown boy and girl of the same sib or phratry. Young children who indulge in heterosexual play are shamed by the older boys for ignoring the proprieties of privacy.

As for homosexual play, girls stroke one another's nipples to produce erection, and boys sometimes indulge in mutual masturbation. This kind of play is public and involves no shame. I have already mentioned the Cubeo enjoyment of body contact. In the younger people it is a mild form of homosexual eroticism. True homosexuality, however, seems to be rare. I learned of no case of persistent male homosexuality, and only one case of a woman. This woman developed strong male characteristics and eventually, it is said, she grew a penis.